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39 3040873

PAGE 001
TOR: 061527Z SEP 79

NC 3040873

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INFO RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 0129
RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 2136
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2152
RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 0442
RUGMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 1176
RUGMKN/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0888
RUQMKN/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0653
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0093
RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 1978
RUQMHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 0535
RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0725
RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 4030
RUQMNS/AMEMBASSY SANA 0127
RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 0132
RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0254
RUFHLA/AMEMBASSY VALLETTA 1096
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E.O. 12065: GDS 9/06/85 (HOOPER, JAMES R.) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, LY, XF
SUBJ: QADHAFI'S ANNIVERSARY INITIATIVES

REF: TRIPOLI 1376 (NOTAL),

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: DURING TENTH ANNIVERSARY SPEECHES, MU'AMMAR QADHAFI TIDIED UP SOME LOOSE ENDS DOMESTICALLY AND ANNOUNCED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

79 3040873

PAGE 002
TOR: 061527Z SEP 79

NC 3040873

NEW INITIATIVES IN FOREIGN AND INTERNAL POLICY. IN A GESTURE TO HIS RANKING GUESTS, QADHAFI ACKNOWLEDGED VALIDITY OF MULTIPLE PATHS TO ACHIEVE PAN-ARABISM. HE URGED LIBYAN EXILE COMMUNITY ABROAD TO CONSIDER COMING TO TERMS WITH THE JAMAHIRIYA, AND SIGNALLED HIS INTENTION TO ADOPT TOLERANT STANCE RE PAST INDISCRETIONS. ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S BUREAUS ABROAD WILL CONTINUE THE TREND TOWARD INCREASED INFLUENCE OF THE FOREIGN LIAISON OFFICE IN THE CONDUCT OF LIBYAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. IT WILL ALSO PROMPT SPECULATION WHETHER LIBYAN FOREIGN POLICY IS ENTERING A MORE ACTIVIST PHASE, OR WHETHER CREATION OF PEOPLE'S BUREAUS WILL TEMPER SOME OF FLD'S MORE QUESTIONABLE LIBERATION ACTIVITIES. QADHAFI'S DECISION TO MILITARIZE LIBYAN SCHOOLS APPEARS TO REFLECT HIS MISTRUST OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION'S REVOLUTIONARY MOTIVATION, AND HIS CONVICTION THAT THEY WILL BENEFIT FROM A MORE DISCIPLINED REGIMENT. ON BALANCE, QADHAFI'S PERFORMANCE THIS TIME DISPLAYED MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN FANATICISM. END SUMMARY.

3. WHILE THE EYES OF THE ARAB WORLD--LIBYAN MEDIA HYPERBOLE TO THE CONTRARY--WERE NOT TURNED TOWARD BENGHAZI AND TRIPOLI SEPTEMBER 1, A RESPECTABLE TURNOUT OF ARAB LEADERS AND INTERNATIONAL DELEGATIONS GATHERED TO ACCLAIM THE REGIME'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY. IN A GESTURE OF GRATITUDE FOR THIS SYMBOLIC DEMONSTRATION OF SOLIDARITY, QADHAFI DEVIATED FROM THE RIGIDITY THAT TYPIFIES HIS APPROACH TO PAN-ARABISM AND INSTEAD ENUNCIATED A SURPRISINGLY MODERATE RESTATEMENT OF HIS PRINCIPLES. ALTHOUGH HE CAUTIONED HIS AUDIENCE THAT LIBYA WOULD NOT COUNTENANCE ATTEMPTS TO BETRAY ARAB UNITY, CAPITULATE TO THE ENEMY OR UNDERMINE ARAB RIGHTS, QADHAFI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE JAMAHIRIYA RETAINED NO MONOPOLY ON POLITICAL WISDOM. WHILE CLEARLY INDICATING HIS PREFERENCE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD TO PAN-ARABISM, AND NOTING THAT SOME IN THE PAST HAD FAVORED UNITY BY FORCE, HE UNEXPECTEDLY AFFIRMED THE VALIDITY OF A MORE GRADUALIST APPROACH "AT THIS STAGE." INDIRECTLY RECOGNIZING THE DIVERSITY OF ARAB POLITICAL SYSTEMS REPRESENTED AT THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

79 3040873

PAGE 003
TOR: 061527Z SEP 79

NC 3040873

CEREMONIES, HE IMPLIED THAT STEP-BY-STOP EFFORTS WERE AN EFFECTIVE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL PROFESSED BY MOST ARAB LEADERSHIPS. HE SEALED THIS PORTION OF HIS BENGHAZI SPEECH WITH A "PLEDGE THAT WE SHALL NEVER BETRAY YOU AND ACT TREACHEROUSLY AGAINST YOU," AND PROMISED THAT "WE WILL DEAL WITH ANY DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY ARISE BETWEEN US AND YOU ON ANY LEVEL AND WITHIN CLOSED DOORS."

4. IN HIS SECOND SPEECH OF THE DAY DELIVERED IN TRIPOLI AFTER MIDNIGHT, QADHAFI INAUGURATED A DIPLOMATIC EXPERIMENT THAT IS LIKELY TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS. CRITICIZING THE POMP AND FORMALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES, SUPPORTERS OF THE ANCIENT REGIME ALLEGEDLY STATIONED IN SOME LIBYAN EMBASSIES, AND INACCESSABILITY OF MANY LIBYAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS, QADHAFI URGED "ALL JAMAHIRIYA STUDENTS ABROAD, ESPECIALLY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA," TO MARCH ON THE EMBASSIES AND TRANSFORM THEM INTO POPULAR BUREAUS. EXCHANGES WITH OUR WEST EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES, HOWEVER, SUGGEST THAT THE PATTERN OBSERVED IN WASHINGTON WAS GENERALLY REPEATED IN THEIR CAPITALS; I.E., (AHMAD SHAHATI)'S FOREIGN LIAISON OFFICE REPRESENTATIVES APPEARED IN THE VANGUARD OF THE "STUDENT" MARCHES.

6. REFLECTING HIS CONFIDENCE THAT THE REGIME HAS PROVEN ITS DURABILITY, QADHAFI APPEALED TO THOSE WHO HAD DEPARTED THE "JAMAHIRIYA" FOR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL REASONS" TO RETURN HOME. REACHING OUT TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION, QADHAFI PROMISED THAT LIBYANS WHO RETURN TO PAY THEIR DEBTS WILL NOT BE PENALIZED.

7. SOME OF THE COLONEL'S POLICY INITIATIVES CONSTITUTED NEW INCREMENTS TO EXISTING POLICIES, AND IN THIS SENSE SEEMED PART OF AN EFFORT TO TIDY UP UNFINISHED DOMESTIC BUSINESS. THIS INCLUDES HIS DECLARATION THAT, "ANY PERSON LIVING IN A RENTED HOUSE WILL BE REGARDED, AS FROM NOW, AS BEING THE

CONFIDENTIAL

19

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

79 3040873

PAGE 004
TOR: 061527Z SEP 79

NC 3040873

OWNER OF THE HOUSE. THE HOUSE IS HIS." QADHAFI ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT INDIVIDUALS EMPLOYED BY OTHERS TO DRIVE TRANSPORT AND OTHER VEHICLES WOULD HENCEFORTH OWN THESE VEHICLES. WHILE COMPENSATION FOR PROPERTIES TAKEN OVER WAS PROMISED, QADHAFI UNDERLINED THAT COMPENSATION WOULD NOT BE EXCESSIVE.

8. IN A RATHER NOVEL APPROACH TO CONSCRIPTION, THE COLONEL CLAIMED THAT THE MILITARIZATION OF THE SCHOOLS--WHICH WILL BE PUMPLEMENTED DURING THE NEXT SCHOLASTIC YEAR--ENHANCES FREEDOM IN LIBYA BECAUSE AN ARMED POPULACE NEED NOT FEAR AUTHORITY. HE ALSO JUSTIFIED THE POLICY AS AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID CALLING STUDENTS INTO NATIONAL SERVICE AFTER COMPLETION OF THEIR STUDIES.

9. COMMENT: OBSERVERS, INCLUDING ARAB DIPLOMATS, WHOM WE HAVE POLLED, DESCRIBE QADHAFI'S RHETORIC AS FLEXIBLE. ARAB LEADERS WHO ENDURED THE SPEECH AND PARADE IN BENGHAZI RECEIVED ELOQUENT HOUQUETS, AND SOME MAY EVEN BE REWARDED BY MORE TANGIBLE EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, HOW LONG THE SPIRIT OF BENGHAZI WILL GUIDE LIBYAN FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS TEMPTING TO SPECULATE THAT "CREATIVE QADHAFISM," REFLECTING A MORE TOLERANT APPROACH TO INTER-ARAB ISSUES, WILL BE PURSUED BY THE REGIME WITH VIGOR. TO SOME EXTENT, THIS WILL DEPEND UPON THE WILLINGNESS OF OTHER ARAB STATES TO ACCORD QADHAFI THE ATTENTION THAT SEEMS TO PRODUCE MODEST POLITICAL DIVIDENDS.

10. AN INTRIGUING REMARK IN QADHAFI'S SPEECHES WAS HIS APPARENT EFFORT TO INITIATE A RECONCILIATION PROCESS WITH LIBYAN EXILES ABROAD. HE WAS CAREFUL TO CONCENTRATE HIS ATTENTION ON THOSE WHO HESITATE TO RETURN FOR "FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS," BUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS MEASURE MIGHT WELL ULTIMATELY EMBRACE THOSE WHO HAVE REMAINED ABROAD AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WITH THE REGIME. ALTHOUGH THIS OVERTURE COULD FIZZLE, IT IS NOTE-

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

79 3040873

PAGE 005
TOR: 061527Z SEP 79

NC 3040873

WORTHY THAT THE REGIME IS EXHIBITING SOME INCLINATION
TO EXPLORE AN ACCOMMODATION WITH ITS CRITICS.

11. THE MOST PROVOCATIVE DEVELOPMENT, OF COURSE,
REMAINS GADHAFI'S EXPERIMENT IN PEOPLE'S DIPLOMACY.
IN THIS REGARD, WASHINGTON HAS RECEIVED THE LUCK OF
THE DRAW. LEADER OF THE WASHINGTON TAKEOVER, DR. (ALI
HADAYRI, UNDERSTANDS THE U.S. WELL AFTER SPENDING
NEARLY SEVEN YEARS THERE AS A STUDENT. HE IS SUFF-
ICIENTLY ARTICULATE TO HOLD HIS OWN ON THE WASHINGTON
SOCIAL CIRCUIT, AND SHOULD PROJECT WELL WITH THE PRESS
AND PUBLIC. IN THE OVER-ALL CONDUCT OF LIBYAN
FOREIGN POLICY, THE BURDEN WILL BE ON SHAHATI TO
DEMONSTRATE THAT HE CAN PRODUCE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS
IN COOPERATION WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY TURAYKI. WHILE
THE FORMER MAINTAINS EXTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH INTER-
NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS AND EUROPEAN
POLITICAL OPPOSITION ELEMENTS, SHAHATI LACKS
TURAYKI'S EXPERTISE IN DEALING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY. IF THESE TWO VETERANS ARE
ABLE TO MESH THEIR OPERATIONS, MANY OF THE UNCOORDI-
NATED ASPECTS OF LIBYAN DIPLOMACY WHICH OBSERVERS HAVE
NOTED WILL TEND TO DISAPPEAR. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD,
WE ALSO WILL BE ASSESSING THE EVIDENCE TO DETERMINE
WHETHER SOME OF THE ROUGH EDGES HAVE BEEN CHIPPED OFF
THE FOREIGN LIAISON OFFICE AS A RESULT OF ITS
ASSOCIATION WITH LIBYA'S TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC
ESTABLISHMENT.

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END OF MESSAGE

CONFIDENTIAL

204